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In March 1969, the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare warned colleges and universities participating in federal aid programs against violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964 when creating black studies programs. Separate housing for students, social activities space, and colleges, schools or institutes were specifically mentioned. While describing some curricular responses that have been made to the problems of US Negroes, the paper discusses priority issues raised by black studies other than those covered by the warning. The standard curriculum at most US colleges and universities is reviewed in the context of its design, orientation and failure to provide adequate preparation for students who plan to work with or in black communities. Outlines of 3 proposed black studies curricula are presented, all of which are modifications of the standard curriculum. One ranges from a course in Afro American history to a bachelor's degree program comprised of related courses in several fields. Another, for black students only, is designed to "adopt the viewpoint of black culture ... the learning needs of black students and the leadership needs of the black community." The third program would train students to effectively help black people of the world to overcome local health, economic, or educational problems. A summary of 10 issues on black studies and related programs is also included in this special report of the American Council on Education. (WM)

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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A.C.E. Special Report

American Council on Education • 1785 Massachusetts Avenue., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

April 8, 1969

Black Studies Programs and Civil Rights

On March 5, 1969, the Office for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare warned all colleges and universities participating in Federal assistance programs against violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964 when establishing black studies programs. The theme of the annual meeting program of the American Council on Education, to be held in Washington on October 8-10, 1969, is to be "The Campus and the Racial Crisis" and will deal in part with black studies. Because the HEW memorandum raises immediate questions, it seems useful to provide now for ACE members a document based on some of the materials being reviewed for the meeting.

Members of the Council will receive two copies of this Special Report so that their presidents can, if they wish, pass one or both along to others who may now be working with black studies programs. This Special Report may be quoted and reproduced without restriction.

Logan Wilson
President

Text of the Memorandum from the Office for Civil Rights, dated March, 1969

It has come to our attention that many colleges and universities are initiating special programs for Negro and other minority group students. These programs range from those that will help the minority student who may have unique problems to those that look to the establishment of a separate school on campus solely for the use of the minority student. We wish to make you aware that, for whatever minority group is sought to be served, certain actions on the part of an institution of higher education constitute a violation of compliance requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

1. Separate Housing for Students Based on Race—All housing which is owned, operated or supported by the institution or a public agency must be available to all students without regard to race, color or national origin and assignment to such housing must be made in a nondiscriminatory manner.

2. Separate Social Activity Space—Where the institution donates or otherwise makes available institution-owned facilities or land for student use or activities or where it provides funds or other financial assistance to acquire or operate facilities for such activities, it must be assured that the activities are to be operated without discrimination based on race, color or national origin.

3. Separate Colleges, Schools or Institutes—Every service and benefit offered by the institution to students must be open and available to all students without regard to race, color or national origin.

The Office for Civil Rights has encouraged, and will continue to support, the institutions' efforts to recruit, enroll and matriculate "high risk" students, minority or otherwise, and to offer such students a well-rounded and relevant social and academic environment on campus. However, we must enforce the Congressional intent of prohibiting Federally assisted institutions from offering services and benefits which result in segregation on the basis of race. We realize that each institution is confronted by separate and unique problems, and we are prepared to discuss the legality of any program with individual college representatives. Mr. Solomon Arbeiter, the Higher Education Coordinator of my office, is the individual to contact in this regard. Mr. Arbeiter's telephone number is (202) 963–4418.

HE 000 920

Black Studies Programs and Civil Rights Violations

W. TODD FURNISS
Director, Commission on Academic Affairs

The warning issued on March 5, 1969, by the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare indicates that three specific practices of some colleges and universities constitute violations of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and thus may jeopardize the eligibility of the institutions to qualify for Federal funds. The practices all concern the establishment of programs or facilities on the basis of race: separate housing for students; separate social activities space; and separate colleges, schools, or institutes. The warning poses some possibly difficult problems for institutions like Antioch, Harvard, Berkeley, and Federal City College in the District of Columbia, which have already adopted or are now considering the adoption of "black studies" programs with one or more of the prohibited features.[1] Others, like Yale, Cornell, and a large group of colleges which so far have only instituted a few courses that are open to both white and black students, may for now be avoiding Civil Rights Act problems. But many of the institutions in this group are encountering continuing pressure for separate programs, faculties, and facilities for black students; some of them are already operating special programs for high-risk black students both before and after their admission to college; and a few are considering whether special preferences based on race are to be incorporated into the policies and practices of the institution as an entity within the community—as employer, investor, or force in community planning. How should they respond to these pressures?

The issue of Federal funding and the possible violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is by no means the only—or even the most important—issue raised by black studies. The black student activist would likely put Federal funding very low on the priorities for his attention. The average faculty member is likely to be more concerned about the quality of the curriculum. Others, inside and outside the college, will be concerned about the redress of wrongs and the mechanisms for redress. And still others will consider only such issues as integration versus separatism, or responses made to demands of one minority as offering precedents for meeting possible demands of other ethnic minorities—Mexican-Americans, American Indians, Jews, foreign students, or even the recently formed Queens College group I.R.I.S.H. Thus, as college and university presidents, curriculum committees, and others consider their practices, adopted or proposed, in the light of the Civil Rights Act, they will have also to weigh other factors. What follows is an attempt to isolate these factors by describing and categorizing the curricular responses made thus far to the problems of one minority in America, the Negroes.

This review begins with the standard curriculum, which forms the academic base of most American colleges and universities, a curriculum designed by whites for whites and containing little information about historical or present-day black experience. The two principal modifications, which I call Black Studies A and Black Studies B, are described next, and are followed by a summary of the issues that seem still to be unsolved.

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[1] Antioch, for its black studies institute and associated dormitory facilities; Harvard, for the proposed "social and cultural center for black students—something of a counterpart to Hillel House for Jewish students, the Newman Center for Catholic students, and the International Student Center." See below for Berkeley and Federal City College. According to the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (March 10, 1969) "about a dozen" private institutions besides Antioch have also been questioned about activities that exclude white students. The names of the institutions have not been released.

THE STANDARD CURRICULUM

For simplicity I shall use "white colleges" to include those four-year colleges and universities that have traditionally enrolled a preponderance of students other than Negroes. The number in America today is about 1,400. At the latest count, the colleges traditionally enrolling a predominantly Negro student body number about 110. Virtually all offer what I have called the "standard curriculum," devised by white scholars in the sciences, history, the social sciences, literature, the arts, and the professions. Commonly the materials used, except when they deal at an advanced level with foreign cultures, were prepared by white Americans. The aim of the institutions is to ready their students to live and work in American society as it now is.

The standard curriculum, besides its white orientation, is predicated on minimum requirements for admission which, though varying from institution to institution, are stringent enough to keep out those whose native ability may be good but whose standard test scores and academic preparation fail to disclose it. Further, access to an increasing number of desirable jobs in America requires at least a two-year collegiate certificate, which, again, has its academic base on the standard curriculum.

Several arguments against maintaining the standard curriculum have been advanced. For example, it is said to inform students inadequately about the historical or contemporary role of Negroes in America. For this reason, it is often called a "racist" curriculum. The curriculum is criticized because it is taught in terms and with materials that, it is claimed, cannot be readily grasped by many Negroes. Also, opponents assert that it is designed only to prepare white students for a white world and, therefore, neglects important needs of white and black students who are preparing to work with or in the black community. A final criticism, not curricular in character, applies to white colleges and claims that these institutions provide no social center or retreat for minority black students where they can, when they wish, be themselves and take off the masks they assume when they deal with whites.

Many thoughtful educators have recognized these criticisms as valid and have proposed what I have called Black Studies A.

A distinction needs to be made here. "African Studies" is a term proper to the standard curriculum and refers to studies of Africa–its history, culture, language, geography, economics, and so forth. It is the study of a foreign, not an American, culture. There are now 13 African Studies language and area centers on American campuses, all funded in part by the Federal government. The centers may provide their campuses with limited services for black studies curricula, sketching in the African background of the black American experience, and they may open their language courses to the general student. In what follows, I preserve this common definition of African Studies. For studies dealing principally with American Negroes, I have chosen to use "black studies" rather than the equally common "Afro-American studies," chiefly to avoid confusion with African Studies.

BLACK STUDIES A

Black Studies A is a modification of the standard curriculum designed to correct faults with respect to the black experience in this country. Curricular modifications at present range from a single course in Afro-American history to a bachelor's degree program which comprises related courses in several fields. Because some important elements are *not* included within Black Studies A, it is worth listing what is included.

The elements of Black Studies A fall into four categories: course work and programs for credit; workshops and institutes; cultural adjuncts; and social programs. The credit programs are based on courses, the most common being those in the history of the Negro in America and carrying titles such as "The Negro in the American Experience" and "Afro-American History." Next most common are courses in literature: "Afro-American Literary Relations," "Black Literature and Culture," "Recent

Black-American Literature." And there is a scattering of courses in other fields: "The Political Economy of Racial Discrimination," "Negro Politics in Urban America," "The Sociology of Poverty," "Afro-American Contemporary Politics," "The Negro in Music," and the like.

Some of these courses incorporate an especially noteworthy element: they are designed to give students off-campus experience in the black community. The purposes include: introducing students firsthand to the community they are studying, providing data for research programs (the ghetto as laboratory), and helping the black community.

Generally, the courses offered are not integrated into programs, either as minors and majors for undergraduates or as minors for graduate students. With the lead given by Stanford, Yale, Cornell, and Harvard, such concentrations may eventually become more common, but at least two serious problems– staff and costs– may make such development slow.

To institute a program of courses, especially if it is at all comprehensive, can be a costly enterprise. One needs only to look at Harvard's estimates of the new faculty needed to get its program under way: ten new positions the first year. And even when the money is available, qualified staff may not be. Complaints of the predominantly Negro colleges over the raiding of their better faculty are being heard in increasing numbers. The upshot of the combination of high cost and scarcity of staff is that even those institutions persuaded of the need for moving into Black Studies A have sometimes had to settle for very little, perhaps only a series of lectures by visiting speakers each semester.

In a few of the institutions adopting the Black Studies A approach, training black students for the professions such as medicine, law, and business will raise consideration of the need for special programs. To the extent that curricular changes are called for, the courses involved will need to deal with the application of professional knowledge to the special problems of the black community.

Black Studies A has an interesting variant, and perhaps a surprising one. Predominantly Negro colleges might have been expected to develop their own specialized curricula, very different from anything established or contemplated on white college campuses. This seems not to be the case. In the summer of 1968, the Southern Regional Education Board (SREB) assembled a group to recommend appropriate curricula for the black colleges.[2] They identified the principal problem of existing curricula as their orientation toward too narrow a group of occupations (teaching for women, the minor white-collar jobs for men) and came out strongly for what looks very much like Black Studies A, the principal orientation for which is the preparation of students for productive lives in our society as it is, with some, but secondary, attention to the history and current problems of the Negro. Thus, the recommendations of the SREB conference do not occupy a separate taxonomic category.

On several campuses, black and white, Black Studies A activities go beyond courses and in addition include noncredit workshops and conferences dealing with special problems of the black community or of black studies. Ordinarily, these bring together limited categories of participants (e.g., health workers, educational administrators, teachers, librarians) to work out a program of study, to foster the production of educational materials, or to plan a program of action in the community. Several such workshops were funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities in the summer of 1968. The number of such activities may be expected to increase.

Colleges and universities have also shown some eagerness to provide for general audiences, on campus and off, a variety of informational and cultural activities through lectures, concerts, dramatic presentations, music festivals, and exhibits. A good many of these cultural presentations took place during Black History Week, February 7-15, 1969.

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[2] *New Careers and Curriculum Change* (Atlanta, Ga.: Southern Regional Education Board, 1968).

A final, but currently very important, note on Black Studies A: Those who have studied the problems of the black student on the white campus recognize his special and sometimes serious social problems and have agreed that the institution should attempt to accommodate them. Princeton, for example, has involved local black families with both the student and the institution. In other instances, separate dormitory or social facilities have been prescribed, but these latter provisions run directly counter to the terms of the Civil Rights Act as interpreted in the memorandum from the Office for Civil Rights. Whether a court case will be needed to determine the propriety of such attempts at social segregation remains to be seen, but it is worth noting that those who have proposed or adopted such segregation in their Black Studies A programs have done so only at the social level but not at the curricular level.

BLACK STUDIES B

The situation with the proponents of Black Studies B, however, is quite different. The principal characteristic of Black Studies B is a segregated academic program for black students only. Usually coupled with Black Studies B are demands for a separate "black studies department," with a program determined solely by black students and faculty and taught by black faculty whose qualifications are to be determined by blacks alone.

Whereas it is possible to identify curricular elements of Black Studies A, it has been very difficult until recently to say what Black Studies B might include. Our ignorance stems from the brevity and opacity of most of the proposals. The rhetoric of those making demands and often of their supporters and the tactics that have sometimes accompanied the demands have raised a host of unanswered questions. Trustees, legislators, and the public have felt forced to resist in case it should turn out that what is wanted is not a reasonable, well-taught academic program but something else—a base for teaching revolution, perhaps, or a center from which attacks on any part of the society could be made under the protections of academic freedom. And yet, we do have some indications of what a Black Studies B curriculum could be, two of which are worth noting in some detail: the proposals at Berkeley and Federal City College.

The Berkeley Proposal

On February 6, 1969, at the University of California, Berkeley, Dean Walter D. Knight distributed to the chairmen of departments in the College of Letters and Science a "Proposal for the Establishment of a Department of Afro-American Studies."[3] The basis for the proposal was a document prepared in the spring of 1968 by the Afro-American Students Union at Berkeley. As presented, the program differs in several important respects from earlier programs on the campus (Black Studies A courses) in its aims: "Creating a *regular* Department of Afro-American Studies, staffed predominantly by black scholars and oriented toward the black student body, will provide more certainly for the unique educational needs of black students than any sort of *special* program, no matter how excellently designed."

Faculty, principally blacks, will be recognized scholars who will, if possible, hold joint appointments with disciplinary departments, but the faculty will also include "scholars, artists, writers and other intellectuals who have mastered a body of knowledge by means other than the traditional academic graduate study. The general pattern of appointment recommended for these teachers is that of lecturer."

The curriculum "is designed to focus specifically on understanding and developing the history, culture, language, and contemporary economic, political, and social conditions of black people in Africa, the New World, and particularly the United States. Further, such a course of instruction must be

[3]On March 4, the Academic Senate voted its endorsement of an ethnic studies department of which the Department of Afro-American Studies would at first be one of four divisions, perhaps later to achieve departmental status if the department of ethnic studies becomes a college.

pursued from the black perspective, that is, it should adopt the viewpoint of black culture and orient itself toward the learning needs of black students and the leadership needs of the black community."

More specifically, the student will do half his work in the freshman and sophomore years in special courses in the department. After that, he may concentrate in one of the standard disciplines (e.g., political science or economics, with a faculty preferably holding joint appointments) or in black culture. His major program, whatever it is, will "assure him of a training sufficient to enable him to go on to graduate study in his discipline of concentration, should he wish to do so."

Admission to the university will be handled by existing procedures (Berkeley's Educational Opportunity Program, in operation for some time, will take care of the poorly prepared); admission to the Afro-American Studies major will be determined by the faculty of the department under ordinary procedures of the college. In addition, there will be a deliberate attempt to involve the student with the local black community.

As might be expected, the cost of the program will not be insignificant. It is estimated that it will require at the start the equivalent of ten faculty positions, and it is planned to make classes small and contacts between faculty and students frequent. No estimate is given of the costs of new materials, library additions, and the research that inevitably would accompany the new venture.

Courses prescribed for the first two years include "Orientation to Black Studies Program (an overview of the Black Experience from economic, historical, political and sociological perspectives)," "The History of the United States (A Black Perspective)," "Introduction to Black Culture," "Sociology of the Black Family," "Racism, Colonialism, and Apartheid," "Economics of Racism," "Urbanization of Black People," "Psychology of Racism," and a noncredit Freshman-Senior Seminar that will focus on "academic, personal, social and other problems experienced by freshmen." For upper-division students, a list of offerings includes approximately 30 courses dealing with aspects of the black experience, to be taught in regular departments.

How far does the Berkeley program go toward meeting the common demands for Black Studies B as outlined at the opening of this section? It will be a separate academic division and perhaps ultimately a department; its faculty are to be blacks in most cases; it recognizes and hopes to meet the special problems of blacks as students; its aim is to prepare them for active lives in a wider world than the white world only, but not exclusively for the black community; its admissions standards may be different from those of the rest of the university, but consistent with university policies. Among items not included is student control: participation is implied but control remains in the hands of the faculty. And no special provision is made for a social center for black students.

The place of the essential element of Black Studies B, separateness, is not wholly clear. On March 4, speaking of the ethnic studies proposal, Chancellor Heyns said, "Any unit created must not be segregated as to faculty or students." The three "major goals" of the Afro-American Studies proposal are, *in order of priority*, to provide "an intensive, high quality program of higher education for black students," to develop "an intellectual field of study which has hitherto been grossly overlooked," and to educate "white students and faculty in the culture of their compatriots." Although white students are to be served, some portions of the program (for example, the Freshman-Senior Seminar) seem to be designed for black students only and to be inappropriate for whites. For this reason and because the program is to be "oriented toward the black student body" and its curriculum is to "adopt the viewpoint of black culture and orient itself toward the learning needs of black students and the leadership needs of the black community," it falls into category B rather than A.

Federal City College Proposal

In a different way, the proposal for a Black Studies Program at Federal City College in Washington, D.C., also falls within this category, but it presents some special problems of classification. In order to

understand what these are, we must approach two elements of the proposal separately: the program itself, and its stated aims. For this review, it is of significance that the initial student body of 2,200 (1,600 full-time equivalent; the college opened in the fall of 1968) is approximately 98 percent black; the faculty is divided about equally between black and white.

The proposed program is a total one, covering four college years. Its focus is on the acquisition and application of knowledge for technical and social change in those areas of the world inhabited by black Africans and the descendants of black Africans in the Caribbean and the Americas. One might, therefore, compare the program to similar ones focusing on other areas of the world, for example, South Asia: providing courses about the culture, language, politics, and economics of the area, along with courses in technical, political, and cultural fields. Together, the two kinds of courses are designed to prepare the student to give effective help to the people of the area in overcoming their local problems, whether of health or economic development or education.

In the Federal City College proposal, the first year's offerings consist of quarter-long courses in six areas:

The Pan-African world
- History and Society in the African World
- African Civilization
- Contemporary Prospects in the Pan-African World

Natural sciences
- Uses of Science in History: A Basic Course
- History of Mathematics, Biological Sciences, Physical Sciences (one to be chosen)
- Application and Implementation (one of the science areas)

Communicative skills
- Uses of Language
- Seminar Workshop in Development of Communicative Skills
- Compositional Procedure

African peoples and world reality
- Uses and Techniques of Pacification
- Politics of Dependence
- Quest for Unity and Solidarity: African Peoples in the Third World

Languages
- Swahili
- Kikuyu
- Arabic
- French
- Spanish
- Portuguese

Physical development
- (An assortment of sports and skills, including dance)

The second year continues the language and physical development components and adds the following areas:

- Interpretation of the African Experience
- Cultural Concepts of African Peoples
- World's Great Men of Color
- Seminars in Developmental Skills (Interpretative Skills, Technical Skills, and Applied Skills in one of the areas of mathematics or science)

In the third year, the student is to begin a major in one of the three "cores" under the general title "Nation Building": Technical Core, Political Core, Cultural Core. In the fourth year, emphasis is on "the development and acquisition of advanced skills with direction always toward applications." No courses are specified.

The curriculum outlined above might be thought of as a four-year preparation for Peace Corps work in the areas inhabited by black Africans and by their relatives in the New World. It does not exclude white students; in fact, no distinction between white and black is made in the program.

However, if one looks at the proposal apart from the program details, one may doubt the appropriateness of the program for a white student. For example, the "focus" of the first-year program is given as "Decolonization of the mind. Development of the ways of looking at the world (Interpretative Skills)." In the introduction, we find these statements: "If education is to be relevant to Black

people, it must have a two-fold purpose: revolution and nation-building. If the education of Black students is to be meaningful, it must direct these students toward the destruction of the forces of racism, colonialism and oppression that continue to drain Black people all over the world; and it must develop in them the skills which will allow them to conceptualize and structure the projections of future Black existence." The introduction goes on:

> The main emphasis of Black Studies will be toward the liberation of the African world. Since education should serve to expand the minds and spheres of action of the people involved in it, Black Studies must prepare Black people for the most complete self-expression, which must, in fact, be liberation and self-determination. Black Studies will take the position that the total liberation of a people necessarily means that those people separate themselves in values, attitudes, social structure and technology, from the forces which oppress them. Concurrent, then, with the liberation of African people must be the construction of a durable, productive and self-sufficient nation. The building of a lasting and meaningful African nation must be the end-product of the Black Studies Program.

From these statements, it is clear that (a) the program is designed for black students only and thus is a variety of Black Studies B; and (b) no matter how much it may appear to resemble a South Asia or Peace Corps program, it differs in one conspicuous way: Neither the student of South Asia nor the Peace Corps volunteer is expected or required to be or to become an Indian to do effective work in India; the burden of the Federal City College proposal is that the black student must become, himself, a member in full of the "African nation" before he can render service.

The Differences

These signal differences seem to distinguish between the Berkeley and the Federal City College proposals. The first—Berkeley—calls for special work for the black student to free him from the debilitating effects of his background so that he may apply his skills in white or black communities with some measure of academic detachment. The Federal City College program seems to say that the student will be freed from the debilitating effects of his background but, instead of acquiring academic detachment, he will have substituted a commitment to a fresh black perspective.

To push the consequences of this distinction further: A trend in American education over the last decade has been to prepare students as "world citizens," to break down some of the more obvious chauvinistic tendencies we all acquire as we mature, but to preserve understanding of and sympathy for the best in our own culture. The chief means of bringing about this "decolonization" of our minds is a broad and liberal education, to cultivate in the student a sense of objectivity in observing in perspective both his own and other cultures. Of the two Black Studies B programs, only that at Berkeley seems consistent with this aim. Thus, programs like the Federal City College proposal will unquestionably raise serious doubts about their propriety in an academic setting.

THE ISSUES

From this review, it is clear that issues with respect to black studies and related programs go beyond those raised by the memorandum from the Office for Civil Rights and that many of these issues are as yet unresolved. The issues may be summarized as follows:

Separate facilities. One of the issues raised by HEW, the question of separate social and living arrangements, could be settled solely on the basis of the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. However, at least some of the proposals for such facilities rest on the considered judgment of college faculties that there is a sound educational and social justification for them.

Separate academic programs. Between providing a precollege program for blacks (limited to them perhaps because the community may have no whites in the same educational plight) and establishing a college curriculum specifically excluding nonblacks there are some gradations of exclusiveness that may or may not run counter to the Civil Rights Act. Even the totally exclusive programs have sometimes been advocated on educational grounds.

Separatism and civil rights. The American community is currently engaged in a new debate over "separatism" as distinguished from "segregation." Segregation is involuntary; separatism in this sense is the voluntary separation of the blacks from the white community. In today's uncertainties, college decisions about separate facilities and academic programs may be based on today's educational theory or on civil rights laws and may be subject to modification if the current debate results in fresh social theories or modified laws.

Primary commitment. An academic program that requires a primary commitment to racial identity rather than to academic principles raises a very difficult issue. In the history of American education we have seen parallels in institutions basing their academic programs on religious commitment. Comparisons might be instructive.

Autonomy. Totally autonomous programs have no precedent in our colleges and universities. Because members of a unit are better equipped in certain matters than anyone else in the institution, a large measure of freedom may be granted in establishing a curriculum, in determining which students shall be eligible to enter it, in selecting and promoting faculty, and in allocating the unit's budget. Nevertheless, this freedom is exercised within parameters based on institutional aims and resources and embodied in procedures and regulations. Is there any compelling reason to exempt black studies from such parameters?

Appropriate courses and materials. Although the standard curriculum is generally conceded to need modification toward what I have described as Black Studies A, open to all students, there are as yet few guides to appropriate courses and materials involving the black experience. Some bibliographies have been published and a few institutes have been held to consider these matters, but little is available to guide those entering unfamiliar territory.

Availability of staff. Faculty competent to teach Black Studies A courses are in short supply. Black colleges fear a "brain drain." Many colleges find themselves faced with appointing as faculty those who do not have the qualifications they are accustomed to demand. Although Berkeley's proposal provides for "lecturers," other institutions may have to work out different arrangements if they choose to add such faculty for black studies.

Costs. Even with the best will in the world, some institutions will be unable to make more than token moves toward satisfying demands for black studies. Financial limitations on educational programs are not easily overcome. The issue here will be priority. Thus usually it will be resolved after a collective consideration of alternatives. The allocation of funds may, then, become a test of power.

Political considerations. Clearly, in some institutions the demands for a black studies department are not really proposals for curricular change but rather a set of "nonnegotiable" political demands to provoke retaliation from faculty and administration or the public. These will inevitably call forth political rather than curricular responses.

Definitions. Basic to most of the problems that have arisen in connection with black studies on our campuses is the question of definitions. As the foregoing makes clear, the names "black studies" and "Afro-American studies" or a term like "the black perspective" are understood variously. It is to be hoped that future discussions on campus or between campuses and the Office for Civil Rights will put a high priority on agreement on terms.

In the past year, some progress has been made toward correcting deficiencies in the standard curriculum. Some of the modifications have been minor; others have struck out into unexplored territory, encountering difficult and sometimes unexpected problems along the way. It should be clear, however, that although the Civil Rights Act of 1964 may prohibit certain features suggested or adopted for black studies, there still remain a wide range of acceptable programs that can be established without regard to possible legal violations. It would be unfortunate if the recent memorandum from the Office for Civil Rights were to halt or delay consideration of such programs.

An A.C.E. SPECIAL REPORT

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